1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu, et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." Bamapana, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't bear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakini (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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561 camp there is a definite recognition of age. They are seen no longer
591 as babies but as growing boys; but if the young men stay in the men's camp after they grow a beard it is then not so much a matter of age grading as such as it is a single status that is being recognized, since they are now at the proper age for marriage. It is marriage which takes males out of the men's camp and puts them in the general camp. The young men's camp recognizes sex, marriage status, and age. A large
561 number of men who are past the adolescence ceremonies, that is, the
591 totem-seeing rituals, continue in the young men's camp because they
885 have yet to obtain a wife. Further proof that marriage is a final
494 criterion of status is found in the fact that men who travel without their women stay in the men's camp, since at that moment they are single men and not to be classed as married. The only deviation from this of which the writer knows is that occasionally a man will stay in a brother's camp if visiting outside his own clan's territory.

561 In the young men's camp the oldest man takes charge and repri-
867 mands all wrongdoers with the assistance of the near relatives of the
869 offending youths. He also gives them instructions and advice about the totemic emblems when they have seen them, and informs them
887 on the tribal mores, tradition, and mythology. At times there may be more than one old man in the men's camp. The division of authority and power is then based on the personalities of the old men, the more dominant achieving a greater control over the boys. Such authority is more explicit here than one finds it in almost any other part of the Murngin behavior, with the possible exception of the ceremonial ritual when the leader decides when and where it shall be held.

224 His near female relatives carry the bones of the animal when a boy makes his first kill. It is supposed to be done for all the animals a male kills until he has a baby. The bones of the animal or bird are painted with red ocher. If a boy kills a turkey or other large bird, he does not pick it up but leaves it, returns to the camp and tells some old man. He does not say the name of the turkey but calls out "Ka-ok," the sound the turkey makes, to tell his listener what has happened so that he can pick it up. If a young man finds a porcupine (echidna), he will not kill it but goes to tell an old man of his find.
[262] If it is killed, he cannot eat it. After they have been carried by the women, the bones of the larger animals are put in a basket made by the mother for this purpose. The basket is placed near the camp and no one touches it, for it would anger the relatives of the boy and a fight would follow.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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462 horde gathering and is intensified by it. The women gather small ani-
222 mals and all vegetable food, and the men fish and kill larger animals, although a man might gather yams or lily bulbs for himself if he were hungry. The women of the various clans of allied groups often go on foraging expeditions together.

2. *Gathering and Preparation of Food—Sexual Division of Labor*

462 The women furnish the bulk of the daily food. The men's contribu-
461 tion of meat, although much more prized, is less certain. When
224 kangaroos, wallabies, or emus are speared, turtles, dugong or porpoises harpooned, the whole group gorges itself after the meat has been divided properly and cooked in stone fires and ovens. The women are supposed to supply the food for the men while they perform the sacred rituals; although the men may hunt, fish, or go harpooning for sea animals at this time, they do it casually and not as part of their daily routine.

224 In the usual method of hunting kangaroos, a man or several men cover themselves with mud to prevent the kangaroo from seeing and smelling them and wait at a narrow part of the mangrove jungle. A group of young boys, sent to the other end of the jungle, spread out in a long line and start moving toward the men. They bark in a very high tone in imitation of the dingo. The boys progress fairly slowly in order not to frighten the kangaroos into too rapid motion. When the kangaroos get within throwing distance the men attempt to hit them with their stone spears. Kangaroos are also stalked; success here is possible because the animal usually sleeps in the daytime and can easily be approached to within accurate throwing distance.[2]

252 After an opossum has been treed and captured, it is hit on the head and the entrails are removed immediately. The intestinal fat is pulled off and cooked where the animal is captured. The intestines are carefully cleaned and opened and the gut is wrapped around the handle of a spear-thrower. When the opossum is to be cooked, all the openings of the carcass are closed, the hair is singed off, and the carcass put in the ashes and covered over with leaves and ashes. It is not cooked with a stone fire, as are larger animals, such as turtle, emu, kangaroo,

[151] [2] The Murngin are expert in identifying footprints. A little girl eight or nine years old can immediately tell one who made a particular footprint even though there are a hundred or more people who have placed their imprints on the earth about it. This is true even though the member is not present and the print has been made sometime in the past. Small female children of this age would be the poorest of any of the Murngin at identifying footprints.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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wallaby and dugong. The flying fox is prepared in the same way as the opossum. 252

Flying foxes are caught in the daytime. They sleep in the mangrove jungles. The most favorable time for hunting them is during the mating season when they make a noise during the daytime. The native sneaks up while it is light and climbs the tree where they are suspended. He either catches them with his hands or hits them with a club. The wing bones of the flying fox are pulled out, and sometimes the native closes the other apertures of the carcass, puts his lip to one of the wing-bone holes and blows up the fox with air. This is supposed to make the animal fatter. If a large number of these bats are caught, they are cooked in a stone fire instead of the ordinary ash fire. 224 [253]

A snake is either hit on the head when lying on the ground, or if hunted by an expert, pulled out of its hole. The people on the Goyder River kill the snake by hitting it on the back of the head. People farther east do not do this and are generally more afraid of snakes than those in the Goyder River district and the people west of them. The stunned snake is held by the head and whirled round and round. This tends to force the meat toward the tail. The snake is then stretched out and left until dead. Then it is coiled in a circle and tied in four places. It too is cooked in ashes, as are iguanas. [252]

Birds, including the cockatoo, egret, duck, ibis, and other water birds, are stalked. A spearman with a fish spear and screen of branches stalks them until he gets within accurate throwing distance. All birds except the emu are cooked on a stone fire. Only the large ones are gutted. When an emu is seen, bushes are gathered and fashioned into a screen to be carried before the spearman, who maneuvers to a position in which the wind will be against him, no sound will carry, and the emu cannot smell his sweat. This method is also used for kangaroos and other game that is stalked. The spear is put in the spear-thrower and carried on the shoulder with the head pointing out over the bushes. Emus are sometimes hunted by waiting in a tree by the water hole where they come to drink. A long spear with double prongs is used here. Kangaroos are ordinarily not hunted in this manner but occasionally a man may wait at a well for rock kangaroos. 223 [252] [224]

When an emu is speared the native rushes up and puts his foot on the abdomen. The bird is carefully watched to see if there is much excretion, for if so he is thought to be fat, otherwise he is considered thin and poor eating. The neck and legs are tied up for carrying, a fire is made, a paper-bark receptacle is fashioned, and water is brought and 252

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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and present to his relatives as reminders. The power which these relics possess is due to the soul of the dead following the bones. The soul is a true or totem-well warro. It listens from the totem well and comes when it is needed for an avenging expedition or to help its possessor in time of trouble. Any account of a clan feud is always filled with the use of these relics. Usually, when a maringo expedition is starting, a magical ceremony is gone through by the avenging group in which the bone of the dead plays the central rôle and decidedly helps to a successful conclusion. The gondjurma or killing stick used by the black magician to puncture the heart of his victim has great power, first, because it is associated with the dead body, second, because it is believed that the souls of the victims cluster about the point, and third, because it gains power by passing through the hands of a great number of men as it is traded from clan to clan and from tribe to tribe. The soul which adheres to this magic is also the Wongar one. It is like a friend to its possessor and he is its master. All of these souls are in or on the stick and can be called for help in hunting or fishing. They will also come to a man when he dreams. They will help foretell the future for him. If he is to be ill, he will feel something pricking him like the end of the stick. If good things are going to happen, one of the souls will come and tell him. If a stick is supposed to have killed a large number of men, all of the souls are supposed to be with it, but actually they are looked upon as one, and it is not so much an individual soul as a kind of diffused power or mana. A killing stick can be in the possession of a magician, or he can give it to an ordinary man who is one of his friends. Such a stick is always kept wrapped in paper bark and covered just as though it were a totemic emblem or ceremonial object and must not be subjected to the profane sight of women or the uninitiated.

When a man wishes to obtain its power to help him in hunting he scrapes off pieces, chews them and swallows them the night before the hunt. Immediately afterwards he shuts his eyes, says nothing, and goes to bed. Next morning he utters not a sound and goes out with his spears looking for game or for fish. "Those souls which the stick killed before this have gone into the water or out into the bush and they have stopped the fish and game so that they can be found. When the man arrives he sees a few. He spits in the water (he is fishing) and a lot of fish come there. He spears one fish and when he spears the one all the rest go dead as if you had poison in the water."

If he were hunting kangaroo it would be impossible for him to miss,

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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but he could kill only one, even though there were a herd of kangaroo there. The taboo of silence is placed on the man from the time he eats the gondjurma shavings until he is successful in the hunt "because it means you have the soul inside you and when you spit it goes out into the water. You can't talk or it would send him out before."

"One time," said an informant who had in his possession a killing stick he intended using, "I was down at the creek trying to catch fish. When I got there I saw Bang-gi-la. He had one of these sticks with him. He was ready to try it when I got there. He had not used fish poison. I looked at the end of the stick. It had been scraped. While I stood there the fish came to the top and were dead. I am going to try mine."

The dry heart's blood can be used in the same way and the magical process is exactly the same. "Wet blood is no good because it makes you sick. When you take wet blood you must keep it until it gets dry."

The stick insect, a creature which looks much like a praying mantis and is one of the minor totems among the western clans of the Dua moiety, is associated with the killing stick primarily because it has a stick-like shape. It is believed that dead souls are about it, and at times it is called wan-djuk by the western peoples, which means black magician. Its correct name is war-a-la war-a-la. It is believed that the warala warala sometimes helps sneak up on people and kill them. There is an ambivalent attitude taken toward this creature. The natives play with him when they see him hanging sluggishly to a limb, laugh at him, treat him rather roughly, yet in their more serious moments they speak of his association with black magic.

The power of the black magician and his technique and the power of relics used to harm one's enemies (a variety of black magic) find their source in the sacredness of the dead. It is the mana of the dead which gives this power to magic and which *is* this power. To the living, the greatest and most intense dysphoria which finds expression in the life of man is death. The more dead souls that cluster about the evil point of the killing stick, the more power the killing stick possesses; a punitive war expedition assures itself of success by the magic clustered in the power of the bone relic because the soul is with it. The ordinary living animal or fish is killed immediately by the magical power of the killing stick because the soul of the dead is associated with it. The dal of the magician is the dal of the dead. The relics express this same power because they are associated with the dead. A relic cannot kill, but it can remove many of the traits of the living

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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children. He swallowed them." (These statements are also applicable to the sacred songs sung while the subsection names are called out—see Section B.) During a Djungguan one of the older men said, pointing to the trumpet, "That is the real Great Father. He is also the real father for these boys who are going to be cut."

D. The Dances on the Triangular Dance Ground

1. The men dance a variety of animal dances, while the initiates stand on the edge of the dance ground and are instructed by the old men.

1. All the men then collect and go over to the dance ground. A fire is lighted in the center. The Yiritja men dance while the Dua men look on; then the Dua dance while the Yiritja watch. The same leader conducts the songs for the men of both moieties. Sometimes two moieties dance together instead of separately, but this is considered less proper.

After the alternation of the dances by the moieties, all the dancers join hands and, calling out in turn wedge-tailed eagle and kangaroo, they stamp out the fire. A new fire is started in the same place and all of the men go out at the anal end of the snake dance ground to the side. They divide into two groups, one representing the Yiritja gray kangaroo and the other the Dua wallaby. They squat on their haunches and hop into the dance ground at the anal end, and when they reach the fire they dance around it as one group. They fall down and lie in a heap around it. This ends the ceremony on the dance ground for the night. They return to the dance ground in the main camp calling out like hawks[18] after they have given the sound that symbolizes running water. Meanwhile in the old men's camp can be heard the low bellowing of the python trumpet "to let everyone know that the Great Father is in camp." It is late and the women have gone to bed; their fires are still burning when the men disband after the day's ceremony.

All the men participate in the above dances, except the boys to be

[18] The hawk is a Yiritja bird supposed always to be on the lookout for small snakes believed to be their chief antagonists.—Tremendous grass fires are made all over the country when the dry season has parched grass and brush to the point where they are easily burned, to clear the land so that it is easy to hunt over. They are made particularly by the women to aid them in catching bandicoot and other small game. At this time hawks gather about, intent upon catching snakes, grasshoppers and other small game which run before the fires.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

This corporate unilineal descent group tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line, the composition of which I have mentioned above. This is the *babaru*. It is corporate—the body politic—because its male members will always act together, particularly in ritual observances: it may be distinguished from other linked *babaru*, forming the linguistic group, when such ceremonies are in progress. However closely linked these individual *babaru* may be, they are considered sectionally in one sense as separate entities. Each *babaru* is entitled to contribute its own sacred emblems (which may be of the same patterning as the other linked *babaru* within the linguistic group), and to modify and elaborate designs as it desires. Each *babaru*, among other things, will contribute sacred communal cycad nut "bread." 613

All male members of a *babaru* will engage in hunting together, but in this context they are the corporate group *plus*—and this plus will include their wives, so that they hunt as a local horde. But when they hunt for kangaroo, male members of the *babaru* hunt together and share as one: it is the same with fishing. They are the unit which will engage in feuds and in reprisals—brothers stand with brothers, fathers with sons, parallel cousins with parallel cousins, and so on. They are both the defensive and offensive unit. They can at times be allied with parallel *babaru* for this purpose; but when this is done payments are required, whereas within the unit no payment is considered necessary in cases of emergency. 613 621 [224] [628]

In the settling of disputes—in what is known as the *magaradu*, when the accused runs the gauntlet, his accusers throwing spears at him—it is the *babaru* as one which throws the spears, on the one hand, and, on the other, the *baburu* of the accused which reinforces him on the other side of the ground. Allied *babaru* will stand close by, but it is the single *babaru* which acts. The head of the individual *babaru* is also the jural head; he makes decisions and maintains order within the several domestic circles constituting the *babaru* and its adherents. 613 628

The *babaru* too occupies usually a particular stretch of country, but this may be ill-defined, as the linguistic group—the linked parallel *baburu*—is said to be the landholding unit. It does not own the land, but holds it in custody for past generations of ancestors and future generations. Land can never be alienated, sold, or occupied by another group. (This is an aspect which needs greater consideration.) When we say that the linguistic group occupies a certain territory, we are saying mainly that it is traditionally associated with this. It may not always be present on it. The several linked *baburu* may separate and, at certain seasons with wives of their male members, wander as local hordes over the lands of other linguistic groups: but for their ceremonies, for their burials, and for a greater part of the year, they will be located in their relevant linguistic group, the boundaries of which are fairly clearly defined and are never questioned. 613 621 423

Considering these aspects, we feel justified in calling the unilineal descent group corporate. Moreover, this is the primary unit around which the Wulamba kinship system has been assembled. 601 613

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

ARNHEM LAND: ART, MYTH AND SYMBOLISM

A Hunting Scene

224 *532 This bark painting, Pl. 114C,[15] illustrates the experiences of an aboriginal who went out to spear kangaroos near Biluitja, a place about four miles west of Yirrkalla. In the upper right-hand are the lines of paired footprints of men and kangaroos. Whilst chasing the kangaroos, the hunter saw an emu, *kadbarait*, standing in the grass (cross-hatching), eating the blossoms from a low shrub, called *wari*, and further along, a fresh-water goanna, *bije* (upper left), running through the grass (cross-hatching).

Creatures at Bartalumba, Groote Eylandt

*532 Plate 114D[16] pictures the country adjacent to the Bartalumba headland, western Groote Eylandt.

Reading from the bottom, the anvil-like figure in the middle of panel *a* is a large cloud over the Bartalumba hills; bottom right is a diagonal line of birds, and above them at *b*, small clouds and rain. On the lower left edge at *c* are seven casuarina trees, with three pigeons above them. Over the central transverse cross-hatched panel, *d*, is another line of birds. The main anvil-shaped design at *e*, in the upper panel, is a cumulus cloud with rain (cross-hatching) falling from its lower edge. There are four cycad palms at *f*, in the upper left, with three pigeons roosting in the branches and three grasshoppers in flight. In the upper right, *g* is another group of cycad palms, and below them at *h*, two women, *Nabililangu* and *Wuratilaku*,[17] with their carrying-baskets (rectangles) and digging sticks beside them.

[482]

Kangaroos, Emus and Goannas

136 *532 There is no mythological story associated with the two bark paintings, Pl. 115A, B. They depict kangaroos, emus and goannas in every-day surroundings.

In the upper panel, Pl. 115A, is a kangaroo lying in the shade of a tree, after it had eaten a meal from the leaves of a yam, depicted as torpedo-shaped designs to the right of the creature. At *a* and *b* are two similar plants. The cross-hatched vertical band between them indicates a well-worn track made by other kangaroos. The kangaroo footmarks to the left are newly made.

Plate 115B shows a number of creatures which live round a lagoon called Doraka, situated several miles west of our base camp at Yirrkalla. Doraka lagoon is the oval in the centre, and above is a number of male and female emus and their tracks. In the lower left are two red kangaroos, the paired tracks of one of them being shown in the extreme lower left. On the lower right are four fresh-water goannas, *bije*.

The Whale, Dianmeri

*1773 225 This myth tells about three aboriginal fishermen, a whale and the death of one of the fishermen.[18]

15. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy. 16. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
17. See carved figure of *Wuratilaku*, Pl. 133C, D; myth, p. 426.
18. These men were distant relatives of *Mawalan*, the artist who produced this bark painting.

or south-east season, and "shades" of boughs in the very hot dry weather, to the crescentic and semi-circular houses thatched with teatree bark, and the more elaborate rectangular huts of stringybark which are used in the wet season, and are of a more or less permanent nature. The large rectangular houses were, however, probably developed or modified as a result of Malay or Macassar influence. 221 342 361 [177]

When the flood waters subside after the storms and rains of the north-west season, the large wet season camps break up into small groups consisting of a few families, which disperse to lead a nomadic life within the confines of their own clan territories. Each phase, each season, has its own related food supply, and this is the chief factor which determines the daily activities of the people and also the area in which they are to be found at any time of the year. As the season advances and the grass dries, they practise systematic burning of the country in conjunction with their hunting activities. This is not a random business; it is well organised, and is carried out by the men as a communal enterprise, although in a restricted and controlled manner, with "drives" for kangaroos, wallabies or other game. 221 361 221 224

The actual burning of the grass is directed by the old men of the clan, or by others who have an hereditary right, especially by men of other clans who stand, under the kinship system, in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman speaking; sister's son, man speaking) that is, men to whom the clan is *yindipulo* (see pp. 11, 12). Such men are necessarily members of the opposite moiety, and to those unfamiliar with the people, they may appear to usurp the authority, to dominate the affairs, of clans to which they do not belong. But it is part of the traditional behaviour in this area, that certain people of *dua* moiety carry out some of the ritual tasks for members of certain clans of *yiritja* moiety to which 224 887 614 602 [616] 602 614 616

602 they stand in a particular relationship, and for *yiritja* to
614 reciprocate for *dua*. The foregoing account applies also to
616 the organisation of most communal enterprises such as
[226] large-scale fishing drives, where the technique is related to local conditions, and therefore has a localised background. In such cases the practice is regarded as traditional, as a part of the pattern or heritage which has been passed to the clan by its founders, the totemic ancestor or ancestors, and which is therefore the special right or privilege of its mem-
[628] bers. Such traditional rights are invariably recognised and respected by other clans and are rigidly enforced, so that any violation may lead to punitive measures and even result in an inter-clan feud. And since the procedure is well understood by all participants, differences or disputes rarely, if ever, arise, and control or authority is not apparent. Most of these enterprises run so smoothly that only those who know the people and understand the social organisation would be aware of the identity of the man in authority.

● 224 At the conclusion of a hunting "drive" or grass burning
226 operation, or after the completion of a communal fishing
602 expedition, the game or fish is divided equally among those who took part. The group will then often sit down and cook or partially cook the food before taking it back to camp, when it is again sub-divided by each of the people according to his or her own family or kinship obligations.

224 While the burning of the grass yields an appreciable
[136] amount of animal food, of which the most important are kangaroos and wallabies among larger quarry, and such small game as bandicoots, opossums, "goanna" or Monitor lizards (*Varanus*), and snakes—it also has the effect of destroying the tops of food plants, which can then no longer be detected by the women. Burning must, therefore, be

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

carried out locally and under close control, so that the "grass burn" season conducted by each horde, or hunting group, is prolonged sufficiently to yield its full food potential over a period of weeks or months, without waste.

By the time the burning of the grass has been completed, another phase in the cycle is reached. The group may now follow the watercourses, which are gradually drying up, and employ the special fishing methods which tradition (backed by a long period of trial and error) has established, as being appropriate to the area and to the season. They secure fish, freshwater tortoises and snakes, by swimming "drives" and by the use of dams, weirs, traps, nets, and special poisons containing chiefly *rotenone, saponin* and *tephrosin*, which, as the volume of water becomes restricted, can now be used effectively to stupefy the fish. One of the most effective of the fish poisons used by these people is *moiyoŋo* (*Tephrosia leptoclada*)* a leguminous plant with a root shaped like a small parsnip. This plant, of which specimens were examined at Rothamstead Experimental Station (Herts. England) was found to be highly toxic in solutions of 1%. Later again, the groups which have been hunting independently during the early south-east season, will converge on the few deep permanent lagoons, where the camps increase in size as they are augmented by other groups of people who have been similarly engaged in nomadic hunting.

At this time the chief food of the natives inland will be *ŋätu*, the fruit of the Cycad Palm (*Cycas media*), which in this area yields very large quantities of food. In coastal

*A second species of *Tephrosia* hitherto undescribed, also called *moiyoŋo*, collected during the expeditions in Arnhem Land on which this work was carried out, has since been named *T. Arnhemia* by Mr. C. T. White (Government Botanist, Queensland).

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

down the back when empty, but when full the weight is usually borne on the forehead, or if the load is a heavy one, the baskets are carried on top of the head.

At first glance, Arnhem Land, like many other parts of Northern Australia, may appear to be barren and inhospitable and to offer little promise for the gathering of vegetable foods. But it must be remembered that over the centuries the aborigines have accumulated great experience of the food plants of their environment, which is handed on from generation to generation, and that they have developed highly specialised methods for exploiting every resource of the territory in which they live. The food resources of Arnhem Land are rich and varied and the natives have developed effective processes for the preparation of its vegetable foods, as well as many clever and ingenious devices for the capture of fish and game.

Again the cooking and preparation of food is far from the crude or haphazard business of popular imagination. *nätu* is not the only poisonous plant which is used as food. A number of other food plants also contain soluble poisons which are eliminated by simple and effective, but often prolonged, cooking and washing.

The women are dexterous and neat in all their technological processes, and to watch them at work in the preparation of vegetable food is an object lesson in the skilful and efficient use of the simplest equipment.

The task of the men is to provide animal food, both fish and game. As a rule, when a large quarry such as a kangaroo is killed, it is cooked and quartered on the spot, and is then divided equally among those taking part in the hunt. It is taken back to camp in a cooked or half-cooked state, often wrapped neatly in paperbark. Each man again divides his share of the game according to his obligations defined by

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778] her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is *yarkomirri* (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
[887 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

May, June and July, when the nights are cold, the natives sleep late and the camp is not active until well after daylight. As the people wake, they blow or fan the embers which have been smouldering through the night, and sit around the fire while they prepare for the day's hunting. No regular meal is eaten in the morning, but if any food remains over from the previous night they will warm this on the fire and eat it, before setting out.

About sunrise the camp is in full activity and the people now begin to move off. If each family is hunting as a separate unit the man picks up his spear-thrower and his bundle of spears—chiefly hunting weapons, with a fighting spear or two—and slings over his shoulder a small, closely-woven basket of the type called *bäti mindir*. In this he carries a bundle of firesticks, and odds and ends of half-prepared string (*räkki*) in the form known as *daiyarrk* (bast fibre), together with pieces of beeswax and resin—material used for repairing spears—a knife, or scrapers of shell, a spear head or two, and generally his smoking pipe. If there is a young child, the burden of carrying it is shared by both parents. Very young babies are carried by mothers in elongated bark troughs of the same type as those used for carrying water. These are slung over the left shoulder and supported by the arm, leaving the right arm free to use the digging stick or yam stick. Frequently an older child is carried by the father astride his neck or shoulders, and from time to time the parents change over and relieve one another. Still older children follow behind, or run alongside, sharing the hunting activities of their parents and imitating them in the search for food, learning in this way the technique of hunting and gathering food which they will use throughout their lives.

754
[753 to be named as a scapegoat by the *marngitmirri* of a neighbouring group when one of its members has died,
761] and to be killed by an avenger who has been presented with a spear, to which is attached a bone, usually a metacarpal bone, taken from the finger of the deceased. One or more of these metacarpal bones are removed after the body has been disinterred. They are cleaned and decorated
[768 with the orange-red feathers of the red-collared lorikeet
628] (*Trichoglossus rubritorques*), *lindiriti*. One of these *maidjaballa*, as they are called, is attached by a short string to the head of the spear and becomes an avenger's pennant. When a man is presented with a spear to which the *maidjaballa* is attached in this way, he is charged with the responsibility of killing the scapegoat. This is usually done by catching the victim off guard and spearing him. Sometimes this man may defer the action for a long enough time for the injured sentiments of the group to be appeased, when a potential blood feud may be averted by an expiatory payment or by a formal ordeal by spear.

[761] In the practice of his cult the *kalka* is believed by the people of the east to waylay his victim in the bush when he is hunting or to invite him to go on a kangaroo hunt. Sometimes the *kalka* may induce his victim to accompany him by claiming to have already killed and cached a kangaroo—which was too heavy for him to carry back to camp alone.

Once he has succeeded in getting the victim away from his friends, the *kalka* has little difficulty in catching him off guard and overcoming him. Generally he will have made a rendezvous with other *kalka* in the bush. These men overpower their victim by knocking him down, then they open his mouth and pull down his lower lip to expose the alveolar border into which they insert the *kandjurma*—made from a long thin piece of ironwood called *maipin*, or from the long bones of a flying fox or the fibula of a kangaroo, sharpened to a fine point. Informants overlooked the fact that in this approach the *kandjurma* would strike the bone of the mandible or lower jaw. To the distal end of this *kandjurma* is attached a rope of human hair which is placed in a shallow trough of tea-tree bark called *tannia* in which the blood drained from the heart is said to be collected. The *kalka*, now aided by his confederates, has rendered his victim unconscious or comatose. As the *kandjurma* is inserted into the heart, which is approached by way of the dorsal aorta, the victim is said to emit a series of deep husky rasping intakes of breath. Each time this occurs the *kalka* pauses, but as soon as it ceases he thrusts the long, sharply pointed *kandjurma* a little farther down the great vessel towards the heart (*tortork*).[4]

The *kandjurma* is guided and shielded by the left hand of the *kalka* as he uses his right hand to thrust the point down to reach the heart.

Meanwhile one of the *kalka* places the *tannia* close to the victim. He now holds the man's head while the blood runs into it; the *kalka* then grasps his victim around the waist and squeezes his body so that all the blood is drained from it, after which he removes the *tannia* and hides it.
● [224 The blood collected is made into small parcels wrapped in
784] paper bark and either used in ritual cannibalism or rubbed

[p.100(B)]

754
[224 on the eyes, cheeks and arm of a hunter to make him alert
789] and far-seeing—*mel karrkuluk*—and so to aid him in sighting and approaching game that is difficult to kill, [554] success with which brings prestige to a hunter. The blood drawn by a *ragalk* from his victim, or the flesh taken from [778] the body of a man whose death has been brought about by a sorcerer, has special potency in magic. It is regarded as dangerous, *duya*—tabu in a ritual sense by virtue of its *marr*—*marr dal* (*marr*, spiritual power, *dal*, strong). It must therefore be eaten only with due observance of ritual precautions. In the case of a young man or uninitiated boy, human flesh, particularly flesh from the victim of a *kalka*, may be given to him only by an old man who first applies [789 his own axillary sweat to the mouth, face and throat of
784] the novice so that he will not become sick, and thus ensures that he receives the benefit of the *marr* without the danger that he would otherwise incur. On no account may a boy or a young man touch this flesh or blood with his own hands.

774 Meanwhile the victim of the *kalka* lies unconscious and
754 is declared by the natives to be dead. They say that his *malli*—his ghost—remains with the body, but that his *birimbir* departs. The *birimbir* is very near to our idea of the soul. It resides originally with the *malli ranga*, the spirit or spirit-manifestation of the totem which remains always in the *wangarr kapu manotji*, the totemic well or water hole where it swam until it entered the mother's body at conception. When the *birimbir* leaves the body of the victim of the *kalka*, my informants said that it returned to the *kapu manotji*. And they added: 'All same he die.' It is as if the man has died. For when a man dies his *birimbir* returns as described above, to the *kapu manotji* from which it came and swims there until it is again reincarnated.

754 The *kalka* now proceeds to restore his victim to life.
278 He takes a white stone from his dilly bag. First he rubs on
824 the body the mucilage of an orchid called *djalkurk*, *Dendrobium dicuphum*, and then warms the stone, which he places on the sore—*tji'tji*—or on the victim's chest. He warms the stone again and now places it on the *maiyang* (throat) and chest. Then he draws the skin back into place, heats the stone again and places it on his victim's cheeks, supplementing the stone with the blade of his *mangal*—spear-thrower. My informants said that the penis of the victim is erect, the tongue hanging out and the bowel prolapsed, and each of these organs has to be treated and replaced in position. Sometimes one of the *kalka* will climb a nearby tree and break down the leafy nest of a green tree ant (*Œcophylla virescens*)—which exudes a strong, pungent odour of formic acid and is believed by the natives to have some therapeutic value. The *kalka* scatters these ants over the prolapsed intestine, which my informant declared to be effective in causing it to retract.

754 It was a matter of surprise to me to find a number of men who were in possession of the *kandjurma*, which are the stock-in-trade of the *ragalk*, admitted to membership of the cult, and were even willing to demonstrate to me their technique in dealing with a victim.

The natives do not pretend that a man subjected to treatment by *kalka* in the manner described is afterwards

[p.101 (A)]

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Of aboriginal feet the least said the better; for they definitely give the lie to the theory that protective footwear spoils natural shapeliness. Toes are broken, knobbed, and widely spaced: this is particularly true of the first and second toes, by which they easily grasp and lift spears and large sticks or grip the rigging in climbing to the masthead of a lugger. Hands, however, are beautifully shaped, with long tapering fingers, and compare more favourably with an average European hand.

Finally, aboriginal skin is not black, as is popularly supposed, but is in varying shades of velvety brown, for there are blondes and brunettes in the Arnhem Land bush.

Daily life has not changed in a thousand decades, and still involves hunting with stone and wooden spears and stone axes for everything the nomad eats. Their camp grounds are well known, and are usually found on sandy slopes or beaches, reasonably close to water but as far as possible from the swamps that usually swarm with mosquitoes and sand-flies. A typical instance is 'Damballia' or Breamer Island, favoured for turtle hunting and named after its totemic waterhole. Having heard a lot about it, I set out to see it with some boys in a canoe. I took provisions and water for myself and flour for the boys, but they declined my offer of a drum for water, remarking that the well on the island would supply their needs and mine too.

With a favourable wind and tide we landed on the island at sunrise, and whilst my billy boiled, the boys went off to the well for water. As I was finishing my breakfast I noticed an overpowering smell, and found that it came from the well-water they were using to mix their damper. Even then they steadfastly maintained that it was up to standard, and politely declined some of mine. I found the well to be an open waterhole, completely covered by pandanus palms in which thousands of small doves and other birds were roosting. Nearby were several broken-down huts, and dozens

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disease, scarcity of food compels the occupants to look for fresh sites.

Well-defined tracks link food-gathering areas and meander in or around jungles and along swamps and creeks wherever there is good hunting. Accompanied by a couple of aboriginal families and a few boys, I followed one of these tracks for about forty miles to where a distant horde had migrated. Men went ahead with their spears, and the women followed with young children, family possessions, and food-gathering dilly-bags. Every little while there was an outbreak of squealing from the women and yelping from the dogs, as a bush rat or other animal was dragged from a hollow log or tree. Occasionally a woman darted off from the track and some miles farther on rejoined the party with a bundle of edible roots or yams.

By sundown we left the bush and came out on a sandy beach on the northern shores of Port Bradshaw, and men and boys were soon lying on the sand waiting for the women to prepare the camps, dig in the sand for fresh water, and cook the shellfish. Once the food was ready, the women took it to their husbands, who shared it with unmarried companions. Darkness comes quickly in the north, and married men settled down with their wives and children around their separate family fires, whilst the unattached males discreetly camped some distance away. Unmarried men always separate themselves from family groups, and any visiting males temporarily without wives stay with the bachelors. Not infrequently married men determine where the bachelors' camp is to be made, and with vivid memories of their own youthful and indiscriminate ways, rigorously enforce this segregation. In the bush, ever-courteous nomads reserved a place for me beside the young men's fire, but never anywhere near a family group, although the youths have sometimes been strangers and the married families well known to me.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Jungle Lore and Etiquette

103 Our front door overlooked an alluring crystal-clear stream where it joined the sea. When I asked what the name of the Yirrkala camp meant, I was told: 'Oh, that is the water where the camp is made.' This beach by the sea was a favoured camping-ground and scores of Yulengor drank from the stream. A white man drinks from a bush stream by cupping his hands, or by blowing away the dust on the surface and putting his lips to the water; but Yulengor flip the water into their mouths. Out in the bush, when we were hot and thirsty, we came to a small soak in the hills, whereupon most of the men wandered off for strips of paper-bark or large green leaves from which they drank after deftly twisting them into drinking cups. Scores of these saccules lay around the soak, where they had been used at other times.

271 [361] [415]

271 192

Apt terms describe methods of drinking. 'Wiaktun' is used of the baling of a canoe, which is accomplished by throwing the water out in a shell or the cupped hands; and the same word is applied to tossing water into the mouth. 'Dthurara-luptun' is a word-picture of drinking with the lips in the stream, for 'dthurara' is a doorway, river-entrance, or human mouth, and 'luptun' is the present tense of the verb 'to wash'.

752 262 224

In spite of the constant use of spears and the skill necessary in handling them, accidents do occur. Marjirry, a lad of about sixteen, one day left the station for a day's hunting. He stalked a kangaroo and speared it, but missed all the

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vital organs, and it made off into the scrub. He followed the wounded animal, and in the ensuing scuffle was himself seriously wounded, and had his thigh laid open by the protruding spearhead. However, he killed the animal and cooked some of it to take back to camp, and propped the rest in the branches of a tree. When he came limping into camp, his friends saw the blood and asked what had happened. Some of them went off to get the meat, but his closest relatives said with characteristic and genuine feeling: 'We will not eat that meat; it has Marjirry's blood on it.' It was clearly a case of 'mumbakuta' and the spilt blood had to be ceremonially washed away and his body purified by washing in a totemic well. Marjirry's father began the ceremony by declaring: 'No one is to eat that meat except my son's wife and children; it is mumbakuta.' He scooped a hole in the sand resembling his horde's totemic well, and when the rest of the kangaroo arrived, the closest relatives ate it, carefully buried the bones and skin in the 'well', and lit a fire over it so that the camp-dingoes could not desecrate them.

By the end of the next week Marjirry felt better, so his father told him that he must 'wash' and that he would make him 'koota-koota', or ceremonially clean, in their totemic well. Everyone sat by the 'well' containing the buried bones and skin. After some singing and dancing, Marjirry stood over the well whilst the leader 'sang' the horde's thanks to the spirit-Ancestors for restoring him to health. Sand was poured over him, and he washed imaginary blood off his body and smeared himself with red ochre. However, before the affair could be considered finished with, Marjirry again went hunting and brought his first kill to his father, who announced that everyone could eat it, and in the ensuing meal thanked them for having observed the tabu. To break this tabu and eat the victim's food, or use his utensils, is a breach of etiquette and a violation of sacred and personal

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752 honour; sickness overtakes the offender, or the father may
262 spear him.
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778 New spears, knives, axes, and canoes are sometimes
784 pronounced sacred and thereby impregnated by tabu.
411 Custom provides for the use of such articles in inter-tribal
224 presentations, and any responsible man may prepare them
[431] and paint his horde's totem on them. Nanyan, a youth of
[531] the Gerrkee horde, spent most of his time at Yirrkala, and I watched him make a spear and 'declare' it sacred. But the tabu could not be completed till he had killed with it, and when he speared a kangaroo it automatically became tabu to all but the men of his horde. After the meat had been eaten the oldest man present completed the ceremony by painting totemic symbols on it for Nanyan. He prized his spear and used it for a time in hunting; and because it had
[531] been ceremonially 'painted', the tabu was under control, and women and children of his own horde were allowed to
[562] eat meat killed with it, though on no account could the kill be shared with females from other hordes.

[431] Nanyan later presented his spear to a man of the Kumite horde who had no totemic or marriage link with the Gerrkee. This 'alien' appreciated the courtesy and used the spear freely in the hunt, but only the initiated men could eat the
[562] food, the women and children not being allowed to share in the kill, because their horde had no associations with the spear's totemic centre. Finally the spear was formally returned to Nanyan who put it to normal use in procuring food for himself and family.

784 On patrol I visited a horde camped among the casuarinas
126 near Caledon Bay, and in the evening saw the men return
562 with a canoe loaded with fish. During the unloading I noticed that the women and children deliberately kept away and ignored the splendid haul, and I was told that the canoe

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784 safe for everyone to use. But the influence of the totem on
775 the cylinder still remained in the axe, and it could therefore
765 be used only by near relatives. To overcome this, Yama cut
778 a canoe, thereby transferring the totemic influences to it.
[222] The dug-out was 'de-ghosted' in much the same way as if it
[783] had carried the actual bones; fish caught from it were ceremonially eaten, and it was switched with smoking twigs to drive off the tabu.

•224 'Ghostly' help is freely sought by hunters to assist them
775 in their search for food. It is generally accepted that if the ghost, or mali, of a dead man is harnessed it will assist in the hunt by rounding up fish, birds, or animals. A ghost dims the eyes of the game so they cannot see clearly, blocks their ears so they cannot hear the hunter, and plays such havoc with their noses that he is unrecognizable.

224 To obtain the assistance of such a ghost, a hunter must
775 carry a 'maiwola' or small piece of bone, hair, skin, or
778 blood from the corpse. Small bones, hair, or other parts of a
765 body, may be had for the asking when a corpse is being
[964] dismembered in any normal burial ceremony, and these 'hunting-charms' are wrapped in bark and hung round the neck. The ghost, or mali, lurks near its skeleton and, as in the instance of a skeleton carried in a canoe, exerts influence over it and all that it touches. But when a hunter carries a piece of the body as a charm, he is able to control the ghost so that it does his bidding, and when he is hunting the ghost follows the charm. If it happens that several men have obtained charms from the same corpse, and in different parts of the country go hunting at the same time, the ghost will serve one and then hurry off to help another. This explains why charms are not always effective, for if a hunter catches nothing, that is because the ghost is otherwise engaged, or is away lurking by the main part of its skeleton, which is wrapped in bark and carried by a tribal mother.

775 Any strange event can be readily explained by attributing
763

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576 your head, and his nose has a ridge like yours. I never noticed before just how much he resembles you, especially when he walks and swings his elbows. He's a splendid lad.'

Naratjin was amusing his small son beside his windbreak in the cool of the day, when Maulin, a man from another horde and moiety, spoke thus to him from the door of his hut. Nomads are extraordinarily susceptible to praise and readily respond to what we would call flattery. But [431] Naratjin was delighted at what he had heard and set about preparing the customary present of food for the [302] flatterer. He painted his son with coloured clay and decor- [301] ated him with armlets and corslet of string and bird feathers, and took him to visit Maulin. Looking up and seeing the child in all his glory, the flatterer expressed his pleasure before graciously accepting the present. At first I suspected the flatterer of 'singing for his supper', but this somewhat rare form of praise is genuine; it is spontaneously given in public, and Yulengor who may be sitting near by courteously lower their voices whilst the 'toast' is proposed.

576 A carefully preserved etiquette governs the distribution of ●224 food. Choice parts of the kill, such as back legs and loins, go [888] to the old men, before the rest is divided according to the age and importance of those present. Generally the meal proceeds peacefully, and each hunter receives his share with a studied indifference which is under careful control, for the greatest importance is attached to good food.

578 Quarrels can arise from the unfair distribution of food, as 224 when Jaua brought in a kangaroo to share with his brothers 784 and an old man of the Ngaimil horde, and the Ngaimil elder quickly muttered an incantation over it, declaring that he had thereby made it sacred to his Ngaimil totem. By his act, the old man made it possible for him to eat the meat but impossible for the youth who had killed the animal to

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touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to

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224 I found their methods of kangaroo hunting to be the most interesting of all, and I know the men would agree with this estimate. Kangaroos are comparatively easy prey during the wet season, when long grass covers the hillsides. A hunter [302] often smears white clay over his head, for clay is an effective camouflage, and a man so daubed is scarcely distinguishable from burnt-off tree stumps with their occasional unburnt patches of white. The big hunt is carefully planned, and there are intricate methods for driving, ambushing, and trapping kangaroos when the rains are over and the herbage is dry. Wide valleys or plains are selected for the hunt, and [372] a patch is burnt out in the centre. Meanwhile, three or four men run a wide circle of fire around the burnt-out area, and hunters with spears and firesticks light many fires inside the outer wall of smoke and gradually close in toward the centre, leaving behind them a wall of roaring flames and blinding smoke which terrifies and drives all the small animals, reptiles, and kangaroos into the central death-trap where they are speared.

225 Most Arnhem Land Yulengor hunt for sea-food both on [177] shore and from canoes. Metal has been filtering into the country for two centuries, and this has made hunting easier. [411] Once they fished with pronged hardwood spears and made wooden harpoons for the soft-skinned green turtle, dugong, [325] and porpoise, but they now grind metal harpoons that are able to pierce even the hard carapace of the shell-back turtle. For turtle hunting, a harpoon is tied to bush rope and [411] fitted into the end of a long spear haft, and when a turtle is sighted on the surface the canoe is paddled quietly toward it with a man standing in the bow ready for the strike.

Dugong are hunted at night, and canoes skim around the sea-grass feeding-grounds till an animal is sighted and harpooned. The flesh resembles pork, and the animals sometimes measure up to twelve feet in length and weigh half a 136 ton. A dugong suckles her calf while clasping it to her with

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628 [578] of dust and of yelping dingoes, the noise subsided; the families wandered back to their camps, and by morning the disturbance seemed to have been forgotten.

But not all disturbances end so amicably, for with a killing a blood-feud is established, and these sometimes go on for years. One day a nomad brought word to me of tribal hostilities in the hills behind Caledon Bay, and hastily loading camping-gear, medical equipment, and stores on the motor launch, I set out with two boys to make a quick trip down the Gulf coast. We saw smoke on a beach near Caledon Bay, and on the shore we found the Yulengor resting after their flight, nursing their wounds and cooking a turtle.

Two days previously the women, children, and a few old men had been left in a selected camp when the men went off on one of their kangaroo hunts. At the end of the day the hunters were weary, and camped for the night. Before dawn one of the frequent raiding or 'meringor' parties crept up on the women's camp and hurled spears into the sleeping groups. Casualties were light, but a passing spear fatally slashed an infant's wrist and killed the mother; several old men and children were also wounded. Two women ran to inform the men, who hastily collected the scattered members of the camp, and before morning the whole party was on its way to Caledon Bay.

I dressed their wounds and gave several injections for yaws, but the camp was restless. Through the night a dozen false alarms were given, and early the following morning the men set off in their canoes with women and children trailing along the beaches. We left shortly afterwards and passed some of the canoes and saw the paddlers waving and pointing to the first catch of the day, a large turtle which they had harpooned. Until we passed out of sight in the early afternoon a long wall of smoke rose from the track behind [224] the beaches where women and children were travelling and

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firing long grass to drive out edible snakes, rats, and goannas. Others searched the beaches for concealed turtle nests, which often yield from five to ten dozen eggs.

Raids are common, and as the men are killed the vendetta passes from one generation to another. Entire hordes have been exterminated, and today there are several remnants in which a couple of women or old men are all that remain from clans once large. Usually the feuds continue till the parties find it desirable to negotiate for peace to allow some ceremony to be held. Big ceremonies involving several hordes are invariably preceded by these peacemaking 'Makkarratas', for before they can sing and dance together they must adjust their differences.

For the 'makkarrata', the opposing clans take up positions about two hundred yards apart and face each other. Members of the offending horde run again and again toward the avengers, who throw spears at them. If the offence is a serious one, the killer may be killed; but the culprit uses his skill to side-step the spears, and it is seldom that these trials-by-ordeal prove fatal. Having agreed to establish peace, the avengers throw their spears as a gesture of disapproval, often with no intent to harm.

Once the avengers have thrown their spears and exhibited their indignation, a neutral party conducts the culprit to them. He reverses his spears and hands them over, turns his back and presents a thigh for a spear to be plunged into it. By the drawing of blood the crime is expiated and tension is released. Avengers and neutrals crowd round the culprit, congratulating him in the friendliest manner and ridiculing the idea of bad blood ever existing between them. Usually they make a combined camp and spend the night in singing and dancing.